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State of the Nation,

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OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE

State of the Nation.

IT is a very difficult Thing exactly to determine in what Cases, and how far a good Subject may express his Dislike of what is either done, or connived at by his Governors. Those whom by the Laws of God we are commanded not only not to resist, but to aid and assist with our Hands, our Pur-ses, and our Prayers, we are certainly required our selves to reverence, and to exhort and encourage others to do so too. Now that Reverence is undoubtedly weakned, whenever we blame any of their Actions or Designs, as hurtful to the Publick Good. The higher the Accusations are, the greater is the Offence. But tho' this is a good Reason for Men to be modest in their Suggestions, yet it is not a sufficient Reason for them to be entirely silent. Nay, it is more dutiful for Men to express the

Causes of their Complaint, than wholly to stifle them, and only to shew Signs of Dissatisfaction without discovering the true Grounds of their being dissatisfied; since they do thereby give an Opportunity to those, whom it does most nearly concern, to clear themselves; and thereby to strengthen that Government, which every good Man desires to see in a prosperous and flourishing Condition.

I shall not therefore be afraid to declare my *Apprehensions* of the State of Affairs in this publick Manner; especially since they are not mine alone, but the Apprehensions of very many honest Men, who are zealous Friends of the Constitution both in Church and State as by Law Establish'd, and entirely affectionate to Her Majesty's Person and Government; which they heartily pray to God to have long, very long continued, as a Blessing to these Nations. Those that affect now to be called *High-Church-Men*, have no Pretence to complain: who in *Memorials* from the Press, and in *Sermons* from the Pulpit, (and many of them too printed afterwards) did in a Manner, which no *True Church of England Man* dares imitate, treat the late Ministry in the vilest and most contemptuous Manner possible, and threaten them in Terms little short of downright Rebellion.

I shall not therefore, I hope, be accused of Undutifulness to Her Majesty, or of Want of Respect

Respect to Her Ministers, when I own my Apprehensions that the *Peace*, which is now in a manner concluded with *France*, may not produce those lasting good Effects, which all Honest Men, who wish well to the *Protestant Religion*, and to *British Liberty*, desire they should. I do not pretend to be wiser than my *Representatives*, or my *Governors*; and by the *British Constitution* every Man is bound by what they do. But since our Evils, (if they are such) may not yet be past Retrieve, and since I know my self to be truly *Amicus Curiae* (and such are sometimes allowed to speak in our *Courts of Justice*, tho' they were not at first retained) I shall venture to propose my Thoughts upon the present Occurrences at this Juncture, when the Parliament is ready to meet, to offer up their united Gratulations for the Peace, which (as far at least as it relates to us) is in a manner concluded.

The great Reason which is GIVEN for making Peace upon these Terms, is, That otherwise the *Balance of Power* could not be preserved in *Europe*, since the whole *Austrian Dominions* and Pretensions are now settled in one Man, the present Emperor; so that it would be of worse Consequence to the Peace of *Christendom*, to let him enjoy the whole, than to let King *Philip* keep Possession of the Throne of *Spain*.

Before this Proposition be consider'd, pursuant to the Views which we are taught to have of the Affairs of *Europe* at this Time, I would desire Gentlemen, who talk so warmly upon this Subject, to look back to the State of *Christendom* in the Time of *Henry VIII.* which may be learnt from any of the Histories of that Time. The *Emperor Charles V.* was then possess'd of the *Low-Countries* entire, of the *Dutchy* and *County of Burgundy*, of *Spain* and the *West-Indies*, of the *Kingdom of Naples*, was Master of almost all the Maritime Force of *Europe*, and was Emperor at the same time. His Brother *Ferdinand*, who was *King of the Romans*, had indeed the Hereditary Countries in *Germany*, but he was little more than *Charles's Vice-Roy*, as long as he continued *Emperor*. The *House of Burgundy* with nothing but the *Netherlands*, (and them not entire) and the *Burgundy's*, were very uneasy and formidable Neighbours to the Predecessors of *Francis I.* for several Generations ; and *Lewis XI.* King of *France*, found *Charles the Hardy* (Great Grandfather to *Charles V.*) a powerful Adversary. *Charles V.* wanted neither Ambition nor Spirit : He was an understanding and a diligent Prince ; always at the Head of his own Affairs, and ready as well as able, when Occasion offered, to head his own Armies : He was very well served, and had as great Generals, and as glorious Troops, as that Age produced ; and

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it cannot be deny'd but the *House of Austria* under him was at the Top of its Greatness; very much greater than it has been since. And yet notwithstanding all this, and notwithstanding the great Footing which *Charles V.* as *Duke of Burgundy*, had in *France* it self, *Francis I.* who had little else but the remaining Part of *France*, made Head against that Mighty Emperor; and tho' he was once taken Prisoner, and forced to redeem himself upon very hard Terms, yet he and his Son *Henry II.* held *Charles V.* for above 30 Years together at Bay, and defended their Territories against all that *Charles* was able to do against them; and the Result of all those long and bloody Wars, till the *Victory of St. Quintin*, which was gotten soon after his *Abdication* by his Son *Philip II.* King of *Spain*, was, that the *House of Austria* got the *Dutchy of Milan* upon the Failure of the *House of Sforza*, and kept it against the Claims of the *House of France*.

Let us now see what *England* could do, and did at that Time. *Henry VIII.* King of *England* and *Ireland* only, and *Ireland* no Addition to his Strength, without the Advantage of Foreign Trade, turn'd the Balance which way he would, tho' he had no Fleets to match the Emperor's. This Case, which is not commonly considered, will give us a clear Solution of that Celebrated Question concerning the *Balance of Power* at this Time. *England*
and

and *Holland* have powerful Fleets: *Germany* can have none: *Spain* has none, nor in Truth can have any, that need give us any Jealousy: *France* has besides what *Francis I.* possess'd, both the *Burgundies*, *Alsace*, and great Part of the *Spanish Netherlands*, and is in Effect Master of *Lorrain*. All these Countries either leaned to, or were in the Possession of the House of *Austria* at that time. At Sea, *France* is an Over-match for any one of the Maritime Powers, in truth an equal Match for both. What it has done at Land against the united Strength of almost all the rest of *Christendom*, has been sufficiently seen since the Year 1688. The Case in short is this. When the *House of Austria* was at the highest, when the Wealth of the *West-Indies* was entirely in its Hands, when its Revenues were clear, when the whole Trade of *Europe* was managed by its Subjects, or its Vassals, (excepting what was in the Hands of the *Portugueze* and the *Venetians*) and when great and fruitful Provinces even of *France* itself were obedient to its Princes, yet then *France* was so much a Match for it, that the Kings of *England* could, whenever they came in heartily, turn the Balance; and yet the Crown of *England* was very much weaker than it is now. We had no Fleets, no Foreign Trade, nor could we absolutely rely upon *Scotland* to help us. What therefore cannot *France* do, when it has open and avowed Settlements

ments in the *Spanish West-Indies*, when King *Philip* cannot bring home his own Plate unless other Nations will give him Leave, and when the First Prince of the Blood of *France* is upon the *Spanish Throne*. It is a Jest to say that *Charles VI.* if he had all he asks for, would be so great as ever *Charles V.* was, that *Lewis XIV.* is not much more powerful than any of his Predecessors, and that Queen *Anne* is not capable of turning the Balance of *Europe* as effectually as ever *Henry VIII.* did.

But the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* will not be under the same Head ; and the two Branches of the *House of Bourbon* in Time may quarrel. It is indeed possible that they may quarrel, but it is by no means likely. The Two Branches of the *House of Austria* were divided after the Abdication of *Charles V.* to the Death of *Charles II.* of *Spain*, who was the last Prince of the Male Line of his own Branch. That Division lasted above 140 Years. During that Period, the *Spanish Branch* carried on a War for above 50 Years in the *Netherlands* against the Inhabitants of those Provinces who had withdrawn themselves from their Obedience ; and for near 30 Years against *France* before the Peace of the *Pyrenees*, and afterwards from the Year 1667, when the *French King* invaded the *Spanish Netherlands* upon the Death of *Philip*

IV, with very short Intervals till the Year 1700, when *Charles II.* died. The *German Branch* carried on a long and terrible War in *Germany* from the Time that *Frederic Elector Palatine* accepted of the *Crown of Bohemia* till the *Peace of Munster*, which was near Thirty Years. In all that Time, the *Two Branches* never took up Arms the one against the other, but always mutually assisted each other as they wanted any Assistance, to the utmost of their Strength. Was it not the *Spanish Assistance* which was constantly, and affectionately, and powerfully lent to the Emperors *Ferdinand II.* and *Ferdinand III.* during those *German Wars*, which hinder'd *K. James I.* and *K. Charles I.* from procuring the Restitution of the *Palatinate* to that unfortunate *King of Bohemia* and his Children? Upon *Philip IVth's* Death, did the Emperor *Leopold* stand by when the *King of Spain* was attack'd? Were not *Leopold's* and *Charles's* Interests always judg'd to be the same, and did not they perpetually act in Concert with each other?

It will be the same now, with the *Two Branches of the House of Bourbon*. *France* will support *Spain* for its own sake, and *Spain* will always return the Kindness as long as there is any one single Power in *Europe*, which by claiming under the *House of Austria* shall pretend to the Succession of the *Spanish Monarchy*. I do not ask what secret Engagements

King

King *Philip* may be under to his Grandfather, and his Successors Kings of *France*; tho' it is not likely, that *Lewis XIV.* has made so ill a Bargain for the vast Sums of Money which he has spent to settle his Grandson, for the Quantity of Bloodshed on that Account, and for the wasting and impoverishing his own Noble Country, as not to secure something equivalent to Repayment, or Requitall for so great an Expence and Loss. But this I enquire not into. I would rather enquire, whether it is not likely, that the Two Branches of the *House of Bourbon*, supposing them to be distinct, should not look upon it to be their Interest to stand by each other. Till K. *Philip* is fully settled, he can no more subsist without *France*, even after a Peace, than a Child that is learning to walk can go without a Leader. Whatsoever may be the Interest of *Spain* it will be the Interest of its King to adhere to *France*. *Arragon* and *Catalonia*, especially the Latter, will be disgusted. What Factions may arise in *Castile* is uncertain; and it will always be the Interest of *Portugal* to foment Disturbances, and to harbour, at least not to discountenance, Malecontents. In such a Case a *British Parliament* will scarce be willing to assist the Crown in abetting K. *Philip*: And we can hardly think that *Holland* will be forward to assist him. Thus it will be at first, and what Scenes may arise afterwards, we cannot at this

distance with any probability undertake to foretell.

This is all upon a Supposition that the Two Crowns are upon Two Heads. But may we not reasonably enquire what may probably happen if the *Dauphin* should dye without Issue Male? In answer to this we are told, that K. *Philip* has actually renounced for his Children, born or to be born, all his and their Titles to the *Crown of France* for ever. This Renunciation will be more or less Valid, as it can or cannot be supported by Arms. What has been done in that Way already by the *House of Bourbon* since the *Peace of the Pyrenees* is publickly known, and has been lately set in an excellent Light by the Author of the *Sighs of Europe*. Since no Side therefore does at the Bottom believe a *Bourbon Renunciation* to be of any force with the *Renouncers*, any farther than as it is backed with a sufficient Strength that may make it execute it self, I would desire Gentlemen to take along with them these following Considerations. In the First Place then, it is certain that it is more for the Glory of *Lewis* the XIV. to have his Grandson *Philip* Lord of the Whole in case of the *Dauphin's* Death, than to have him only K. of *Spain*. *France* will really then be Mistress of *Europe*, and a Prince descended from *Lewis* the XIV. will be its Governor. The *Dauphin* is so extream sickly that his Life is
not

not expected ; and it is not supposed that he will out-live his Minority. The *French* King is old and infirm ; scarce a Month passes but we have an Account of his Indispositions, which when they are so frequent in a Man of his Years, are very alarming ; That seems to be the Reason why he takes such pains to get *England* to solicit the Allies to come in, tho' why they should so solicit it, is not to be imagin'd : The *Dutch* are promised their *Barrier* very little worse than it was before stipulated in the Year 1709, between Us and Them ; tho' my Lord *T——d* was declared an Enemy to his Country by the Parliament of *Great-Britain* for signing it at that Time. A *Reciprocal Guarantee* is offered between the *Crown* of *Great-Britain* and the *States-General* for that, and for the *Hanover-Succession*. This is to hasten the Work. Now if it is not likely, that (if it were left to the *French* King's Option) he would chuse to have the Two Crowns rather Dismembred than United, then one may justly fear, that such Measures may be hereafter taken, and which if taken, cannot be prevented by Us and *Holland*, as may unite them after the *Demise of the Dauphin*. Without this *Renunciation* *K. Philip* could not keep *Spain* at all. The Ministry, who want no Courage, would scarce dare to advise the Queen to sign a Peace with *France* without it : This the Courts of *Versailles* and *Madrid* know very well.

well. *France* therefore (let its Secret Designs be what they will) must have a Peace if possible whilst the *Dauphin* lives. Sign now, and leave the rest to Time. Thus we may suppose they reason. *Great-Britain* is willing on these Terms to come into a Peace ; and that Opportunity is not to be slipt ; and from what the *Court of France* has done in former Conjunctions, we may make Rational Suppositions of what they are doing now.

But farther : It is possible the *French King* may be in earnest ; that he not only longs for Peace, but *bonâ fide* intends to keep it. He may perhaps seriously repent of his former Breaches of Faith, which have been more flagrant, and more frequent, than can be matched in the History of any single King, of what Religion soever, since the Creation. But if he should not be in earnest, and only proposes to amuse us till a fitter Conjunction offers it self, what can be done ? Why, we are told, that the Dukes of *Berry* and *Orleance* will make the Title, which they have acquired by this *Renunciation of K. Philip*, good by their own Interest and Force. I wish they may ; but it may be justly questioned whether they can make it good : No Nation has ever shewn it self so jealous of the Succession of their Kings as *France* has done. The *French Nation* have not renounced *K. Philip*, nor indeed can they. They have a Right to demand that he, and in default

default of him that his Children should reign over them. And they may (for ought we know) think it their Interest to have it so. In that Case *France* would become the Seat of Empire, and *Spain* and the *West Indies* Provinces to *France*. *France* in case that should happen would gain greatly, and that they well know. The Industry and Activity of the *French Nation*, which for these last 50 Years has turned it self more than ever it did formerly to Trade and Business, to Maritime Affairs, and to making Settlements for Commerce in remote Countries, would soon bring the Trade of the World into their own Hands.

The truth is, we strain at Gnats, and swallow Camels, when we bellow at the *Dutch*, and overlook the *French* in this Article of Trade. *France* we are told is to have *Lisle* re-delivered upon the Peace. *Lisle* was the Center of the *Woollen-Manufacture* for Stuffs, which the *French* Erected in this last Age, when the Allies took it in 1708. That *Manufacture*, which for several Ages was the great Glory of the *English* Nation, has been raised by them in all its considerable Branches to an amazing Height. Ten *Assiento's* will not make that Loss good. And we are told now, that *Lisle* must be restored, because otherwise they cannot make the proper *Assortments* (as they are called) of *Cargoes* to send to their Plantations. These *Assortments* we made before,
and

and God be praised can make again. It will (I fear) be to little purpose to tell us, that *We shall be favoured as much as the Nations the most favoured in the Treaty of Commerce.* The *French* will undersell us at least if they do nothing else ; and by having Settlements of their own in *America*, they will carry on the Trade more advantageously than we possibly can. Trade is not to be forced : If the *Spaniards* in the *West-Indies* can buy to greater Profit of the *French* than they can of us, they will do so, let our *Tariffs* be never so splendidly drawn.

The Hopes therefore of that Immense Gain which the *French* may reap from the *Indies*, in case they had a King of their own at the Head of the *Spanish* Monarchy, will very probably be a powerful Motive to them to desire *K. Philip* to be their King if the *Dauphin* should dye, especially since he has an Hereditary Right of his own to support him. If *Lewis* the XIV. judged it to be the Interest of the *House of Bourbon* (may they reasonably say) to oblige his Grandson to renounce *France*, what is that to Us now ? Kingdoms are not like Private Inheritances. If the right Heir has an *indefeasible Right* to our *Allegiance*, we have the same *indefeasible Right* to his Government. If he will renounce for himself, he cannot however renounce for his Children. Any Act of his ought not in Natural Justice

to affect them. Nay, supposing he could renounce for his Children yet unborn, he cannot renounce for those Two Sons of his that are born already. If it may be alledged, that the Children yet unborn can have no accruing Right to what the Father had no Right to at the time of their Birth, yet the Case is different with those Two Princes who are now actually born. They were born Princes of the Blood of *France*, and are unquestionably too young to do any Act of their own that can be Valid, and it is essentially unjust to tye them up by what their Father does in a Thing of this Nature where their Birthright is concerned, and a Birthright of such vast Importance, not only to themselves but to all the rest of *Christendom*. Now it is no Chimerical Supposition to imagine that the *French* Nation will reason after this manner, when once a seasonable Conjunction shall offer it self, it is not impossible likewise that they may think this to be the only way to prevent a Civil War. To their Cost they know what Civil Wars upon the Account of a Title to the Crown mean. No Nation ever carry'd on a more severe, or a longer War without Intermission than they did after *Henry* the III^d's Death, to settle *Henry* the IVth. who was next Heir, upon the Crown. And this they did, tho' he was a Protestant, and continued so for several Years after; and when

the League try'd to set up the *Cardinal of Bourbon* his Uncle, thinking thereby to pacify the People, it proved to no purpose, for the Nation chose rather to bear with the Miseries of a Civil War, than to alter the Succession : And this they did against the United Force of *Rome* and *Spain*.

Should they therefore upon such an Occasion appears zealous for *K. Philip*, he would have as fair a Pretence to accept of their Love, as he now declares to have to stand by his faithful *Spaniards* ; and whatsoever he shall do in such a Case, will appear to be their Act not his. It is not therefore unlikely the *French* Nation may judge this to be the likeliest way to prevent a Civil War. Titles have lien dormant for a Generation or Two, and afterwards have broke out when a proper Opportunity has offer'd it self. This actually happened in the Controversy between the *Houses of York and Lancaster* for the *Crown of England*, about 250 Years ago. The *House of York* gave way during the Reigns of *Henry the IVth* and *Henry the Vth*, and asserted their Right in *Henry the VIth's* Time, when his weak Administration gave them a fair Opportunity. And they asserted it in such a manner that they turned out the *House of Lancaster*, which had kept the Throne for Three Generations. This Example the *French* have before their Eyes, and this may naturally lead

lead them to think that the horrible Mischiefs of a Civil War can no way be so well prevented as by receiving *Philip* or his eldest Son to be their King, notwithstanding those Renunciations which have so long amused *Europe*.

The Methods indeed which are generally believed to have been taken to clear the ground of the late Two *Dauphins*, (the Duke of *Burgundy* and his *Eldest Son*) may put an end to this Matter, and leave to the Dukes of *Berry* and *Orleans* a quiet and an undisputed Succession. Other Methods will most probably be successless. It is a Jest to say therefore, that *K. Philip* can renounce for any Body but himself, or that the *French* will accept his Renunciation any farther than as they themselves like it. They will perhaps appear fond of it at present, because it brings Peace along with it, and a Breathing-Time from those Miseries under which they have so long groaned ; and sinking Nations, as well as drowning Men, will lay hold of every Bough that will give them present Ease. All these Things put together may probably appear of Weight.

What is here suggested concerning the future Prospect of the Affairs of *Europe*, is not said with a Design to accuse the Ministry for what they have done : They certainly know the State of the Nation and the Condition of our Allies better than private Men : And this

is a good Reason why By-standers should pass modest Censures upon what they have done. But still a *British* Parliament has a Right to give Advice in this important Conjunction, and with all possible Duty and Loyalty to desire (if they think it necessary) an Account of the Steps which have been taken for the Nation's Good. When my Lord *T—d* was declared an Enemy to his Country last Sessions for signing the *Barrier-Treaty*, the *House of Commons* were not in the wrong to make such a Declaration, upon a Supposition that they believed him to be so: And I am confident they did then believe him to be such any Enemy, whatever they might do this next Session, if the Question were to be put again.

Whatsoever *Her Majesty* and the *British Parliament* does, we ought to receive as becomes good Subjects. *Her Majesty* declared when she laid the Conditions upon which a Peace might be had before her Parliament, that she had the *Protestant Succession* most at Heart ; and we do with Joy confide in the Solemn Declaration of *Her Majesty*, who is a Princess of such incomparable Vertues, and of whose steady Love to Her People we have had such frequent Instances. Nor is it likely that a *British Parliament* will ruin their Country, and bring in *Popery* in cool Blood. What Private Men may do will not be charged upon them. But I cannot without Concern and Indignation observe

observe how very Modish it is to lay load upon the *Dutch*, and how tamely Men submit to see them abused in our *News-Letters* and *Prints* in so vile a manner. That the *Dutch* may have sometimes over-reached us in Trade may for ought I know be true: Tho' they have cleared themselves of so many Things which have been lay'd to their Charge, that perhaps it will be most advisable to suspend our Judgments till those Matters are put in a clearer Light. But be it so: In Trade they are our Rivals, and we trust in our Governors that they will take care of the Interests of the Nation in that particular, as well as in others, and we are easy upon that Head. But let the *Dutch* have been what they will towards us in point of Trade, in which private Men as well as Nations are for engrossing to themselves as much always as they can, it is certain, that the *States-General* are at this Time next to us the greatest Support of the *Protestant Interest* in *Europe*. And I shall not be afraid to assert, that the Preservation of the *Protestant Religion* has been under God owing to that Commonwealth. After the Battel of *St. Quintin* when *France* lay wholly at the Mercy of the *K. of Spain*, *Philip* the II^d preferred the Cause of *Popery* to the Increase of his Power by ruining the *K. of France*, and struck up a sudden and an unexpected Peace, that he might enter into effectual Measures with

with *Henry* the II^d to extirpate the *Northern Heresy*; which Measures would humanly speaking have been successful had not God wonderfully interposed. For *Henry* the II^d was killed soon after, and left Children who were unable to execute the Designs which their Father had laid; and *Philip* by oppressing the *Low-Countries* contrary to their own just and known Privileges, which he himself had but a little before solemnly sworn to observe at (what their *Historians* call) the *Joyful Entry*, forced them upon Measures which at last ended in the Erection of the *Dutch Commonwealth*. The Wars in the *Netherlands* which were subsequent to those Commotions, took up all K. *Philip's* Time, and wasted his Men and Treasure; and to the steady and constant Support which Q. *Elizabeth* gave that Infant-State we owe our own Liberties both Civil and Religious. If the *Dutch* could not have stood without Her, She could as little have stood without them. The *Spanish Invasion* would not have been the only one in her Time, if the *Low-Country Wars* had not kept *Philip* the II^d constantly employ'd during the whole Course of his long Reign. What could *Germany* have done then, if the *Netherlands* had been entirely reduced: Whereas now *England* and *Holland* can mutually support one another, and stand by the *Protestant Interest* any where else. And for God's sake let us look into *Germany* a little ?

little ? *Saxony* is lost, we may say irreparably, when the *Electoral Prince* once abjures 'his Religion, which we expect every Post to hear he will. The *Palatine-House* has left us a good while ago. There are now but Two *Protestant Powers* in *Germany* of any great Weight, *Hanover* and *Brandenburgh*. These Considerations render it necessary for the Two great *Protestant Powers* of *Great-Britain* and *Holland* (which are indeed very great when well united) to keep together. God has no where promised to work Miracles for his Church ; and if he had, yet there is no reason to suppose he should work any for those that forsake themselves. We are told indeed that the *Dutch* will for their own sakes stand by us in the Day of Danger. Be it so. But then there must be mutual Confidence as well as mutual Interest, or else Alliances will be weakly supported, and Assistances coldly given. And how far that Confidence has been broken within these last 18 Months, between Us and *Holland*, I do not pretend to determine.

It is not therefore either an improper, or an undutiful Question to ask, if the *House of Bourbon* should have a Mind to bring in the *Pretender* after the Peace is ratified, and *K. Philip* quietly possess'd of *Spain* and the *West-Indies*, whether it will be so easy to keep him out as it would have been, if by our withdrawing from the Allies we had not forced them

them to make a precipitate Peace ? Is it not the joint Interest of both Branches of the *House of Bourbon* to bring him in if they can ? The *House of Hanover*, whenever they come, must for their own Security stand by *Holland* and the *House of Austria*, whose Interest it certainly is to keep *France* from rising higher. If we would pass a right Judgment upon this Matter, we must see what the present Disposition of the Nation appears to be. Do we not see *Pamphlets* openly Published among us, to show that no Prince ought to be debarred, of (what is called) his Natural Right to govern, upon the Account of Diversity of Religion ? And does not this *Holy Right* (as it is termed) appear every Day in the *Advertisements* of our most celebrated *New-Papers*, which are spread the farthest, and the most greedily read ? What does this tend to, but to wean the People by Degrees from their Fondness for the *Protestant Succession* ? If any Man, let his Personal Character have otherwise been never so eminent, and let him have been never so zealous, and acted never so steadily for the *Tory Interest*, ever since the Revolution, but once declare against a Peace with *France* at this Juncture, and upon these Terms, is he not immediately traduced in our *Weekly Papers*, in *Lampoons*, and in *Penny Merriments*, and treated as the vilest of Scoundrels, and set up as a Mark to be shot at by the People ? An

Apostate

Apostate from his old Principles, a Companion for T——d, and a Member of the Calves-Head Club, is the best Language he must expect to meet with.

I will not deny, but the *Ministry* has, what we are sure *Her Majesty* has most at Heart, which is the *Protestant Succession*. Yet what so effectual Course can be taken, to bring People to bear with what they before abhorred, as what we see daily practised? No Man thinks a *British Ministry* will attempt to alter the Establishment, unless they think they shall be backed by a *British Parliament*: And what *Parliament* will venture at any Innovations against the universal Bent of the People? The People can be no other way lured on so successfully as by a present Peace, and the Prospect of future Plenty. The *Land-Tax* bears very hard upon the Gentlemen of *England*; and I do not affront them, when I say, that great Numbers of them would be very well pleased to see *French Wine* as cheap as it was Twenty Five Years ago. The trading Part of the Nation may possibly be brought by Degrees to think, that they cannot enjoy any one Branch of their Trade securely, so long as the *Dutch* can send out a *Fisher-Boat* upon the *Ocean*, or a *Merchant-Man* to the *East-Indies*. Our *Pamphleteers* do now assure us, that the *King of France* has been a strict

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Observer of his Word all along ; and the next Thing which we are to look for , is, that he will join in a *Guarantee* to secure the *Barrier* for the *Dutch* , and the *Hannover Succession* , against himself.

There is nothing can ruin us at Home , but an implicit Confidence in every thing that is called a *Tory*. The Bulk of the *Tories* of *England* are in their Hearts against the *Pretender* : And they will not easily be brought to think , that Men of whom they have long a good Opinion, can harbour any Designs but what appear above-board ; and it is indeed possible there may be no evil Designs under-hand carry'd on. The *Tories* are fond of the *Church of England*, of *Monarchy* and *Episcopacy*, and God bless them for such their Fondness. The *Whigs* unfortunately , (and perhaps some of them maliciously) gave into several Things , whilst they were in Power , which look'd very ill towards the Church. It is not to be believed , how much the Clergy were exasperated all over the Nation, by the publick spreading of that pestilent, and, in truth, heathenish Book, called the *Rights of the Church*. The Ministry sat by, and the Parliament for a long while took no Notice of it. This inflam'd the Body of the Clergy : And tho' the most and the best Answers against it were written at the Command of *Whiggish Bishops*, or de-

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dicated to them ; yet since the Civil Power did not interpose in a Matter which so nearly concerned the Being of the Church, and the Maintenance of its Clergy, their Dissatisfaction was not lessen'd. The *Impeachment of Dr. S——l* afterwards for a Point of Doctrine, made them lose all Patience. The Rage which that *Impeachment* produced had dire Effects. Men that were really concerned for their Religion, (and of those we have great Numbers) believed their common Christianity was at Stake. And when the Children of Darkness appeared above-board, when not only such little Scriblers as *T——l*, *C——ns*, *A——l*, and *T——d* ; but even some whose Birth and Quality gave them a Hereditary Place in our Parliament, appeared in Print against the *Christian Religion*, in Defence of what they called *Natural Liberty*, and *Free-Thinking*, as if his Quality gave any Man a sufficient License to brave the Lord of Hosts ; and all this while the then Ministry sat unconcernedly by ; if this gave the secret Enemies of our Constitution Opportunity to set things in a Flame, it is not to be wondred. And in truth I have often thought, that the Fall of that Ministry was a just Judgment of God upon them for their Remissness, in not giving what Check they could to the horrid Course of those vile and irreligious Books which

appeared at that Time ; and I fear it is no Breach of Charity to say, that some Leading Men amongst them, whilst they laboured to appear to be *Englishmen*, forgot sometimes that they were Christians. But they have smarted for their Folly ; I hope they will repent of it.

But must we necessarily fall into *Scylla*, in endeavouring to avoid *Charybdis* ?

*Could we not (as Sir John Denham says) wake
[from that Lethargick Dream,
But to be restless in a worse Extreme ?*

France will not, it cannot, unless it will abjure Popery, support the *Church of England*, or *Protestant Episcopacy*. The *Pretender* under any Disguize, and *British Liberty*, are inconsistent Things. To think, that if he were once settled here, he would not be influenced by Directions from Abroad, is downright Infatuation. It is allow'd that we are not of our selves strong enough to hinder it ; where then in such a Case could the Nation fly for Relief ? Have we not wantonly cast off our old Friends, without getting new ? I must here again repeat it, (because what is never out of my Mind, I would not lose sight of one Moment,) that I have no design to accuse the Ministry. They can't alone ruin us
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if they would. Should they pour in never so many Bodies of new Lords into the Upper House, still the *House of Commons* are in Possession of the *Triennial Act*, and a certain Estate in Land is a necessary Qualification to enable any Man to be a Member of their House. But the raising new Troops of Peers is an Expedient the same Ministry, as long as there is any public Liberty left, will hardly venture to try above once. In *Her Majesty's* Goodness therefore, and in a *British House of Commons* we think ourselves safe. And, God be thanked, we have those Securities. For we may ruin ourselves very easily if we please; for there is a Door already open, which without very speedy Care be taken, may let in those Enemies, whom, when once let in, it will not be in our Power very easily to drive out. Our immediate Danger at present is from *Scotland*; and how few apprehend any Danger from that Quarter! The Imposition of the new Oaths has shewn what the *Scottish Nation* would be at; and if for no other Reason the Imposition of those Oaths was necessary at this time, that *England* may see how the *Scottish Nation* stands affected. The Convulsions which have happen'd since the Oaths were tender'd to the *Scottish Ministers* of both Persuasions, deserve to be set in a clear Light, before us who live on this Side of the *Tweed*, before they rise to too great a Head. Now
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the Case is this : By an *Act* pass'd this Session (*Annæ* 10. *cap.* 7.) all the *Ministers of the Established Church of Scotland*, as also all the *Ministers of the Episcopal Persuasion in North-Britain* (who are tolerated by the said *Act* to hold Congregations according to the *Liturgy of the Church of England*) were obliged to take and subscribe the *Oaths of Allegiance and Abjuration*, on or before *Aug. 1. 1712.* This Time being found to be too short, they had by another *Act* pass'd the same Session (*Annæ* 10. *cap.* 32.) Time given them to qualify themselves, till *Nov. 1. 1712.* During this Interval, the *General Assembly of the Church of Scotland* met, and made a Declaration which they presented to *Her Majesty.* In which they set forth, that they did not understand any Words or Syllables in that Oath, to have a Sense or Meaning contrary to their known Principles and Church Government. When the Time drew nigh, in which they were to qualify themselves, the *Quarter-Sessions* met in most Parts of *Scotland*, that the *Ministers* who would take the *Oaths of Allegiance and Abjuration*, according to the *Toleration-Act* above-mention'd, might have an Opportunity so to do. At *Edinburgh*, Twenty six Ministers of the Presbytery of that Place, went in a Body to the Sessions, preceded by Mr. *Carstairs*, in Order to qualify themselves, and there tender'd the above-said Declaration of
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the *General Assembly*. Some of the Justices protested against Receiving any such Declaration ; others protested against the former, for not Admitting it. These being out-number'd, the Ministers, after having privately protested that they had offer'd such a Declaration, took the Oaths, and subscribed them. The same Thing was done in other Parts of *Scotland* ; and those that took the Oaths, protested either before or after they took them, that they had tender'd such a Declaration. But in the whole, it is computed, that not above one Half of the Ministers of the Established Church have taken the Oaths. Six of the most popular Ministers in *Edinburgh* have refused them. Of the *Episcopalians*, but Two have comply'd with the *Act* throughout *Scotland* : One in *Edinburgh*, who preaches to the *English Congregation* there ; and one at *Glasgow*, who has lately taken Orders, and open'd a Meeting in that City. The *Sunday* following the *Non-Jurors* of both Parties preached publicly, and I suppose do so still. In *Edinburgh* it self the Populace join with the *Non-Jurors*, so that their Churches are thronged ; whereas the *Jurors* are in a good Measure deserted. One *Minister* particularly beyond the *Firth*, that had taken the Oaths, went the next *Sunday* to preach as usual in his own Church, and found the Doors shut against him ; and he was threat-

threatned to be stoned, if he attempted to open them.

This is the *present State* of the *Church of Scotland*. The *Episcopalians* directly declare themselves to be *Jacobites*, and upon that Score alone they refuse the Oaths. That no Man questions. And *Whig* and *Tory* on the other Side of the *Tweed*, are Names that are universally understood to denote Men that are *for* or *against* the *Pretender*. Care has been taken to infuse Scruples into the *Presbyterians*, as if the Intention of the *Parliament* by this Act was to destroy their *Church-Government* by Degrees. Weak Scruples they are God knows ! and yet weak as they are, they have had Influence enough to prepossess one Half of the Ministers of the Establish'd Church. The *Provincial Synod* sat lately ; and the *Non-Jurors* gave in a Declaration to the *Synod*, setting forth that they had no other Objection against the Oaths, than that they understood themselves to be thereby bound to support the *Hierarchy* of the *Church of England* contrary to their known Principles. The *Jurors* gave in another Declaration, declaring that they did not take them in that Sense. This shelters the *Jacobites* : And upon this Account, they have industriously fomented these Scruples among the *Presbyterians*.

Is not here now a fair Field in which the Friends of the *Pretender* may exert themselves, whilst Things are in this Confusion ? The *Nobility* and *Gentry*, it is to be feared, are but too much disgusted, upon the account of their being (as they think) shut out by the Union of their Birthright, by which they had for so many Ages by-gone so great a Share in the Legislature. This operates too much even upon the *Presbyterians* themselves : Tho' could they carry their Resentments against *England*, against which they are chiefly enraged upon the Account of the Union, so far as to join with the *Pretender*, they would have reason to expect nothing better than *Ulysses's* Fate, to whom *Polyphemus* in the *Poet* promised as a Reward for making him Drunk, that he should be eaten up last.

Be this as it will : Here is a great Body of Men, and those at a great distance from *London*, and not very rich, and consequently more liable to Temptation, disgusted. It will behove a *British Parliament* to find a Remedy for these Evils as soon as possible. It will be equally their Interest to quiet People at home. The *Church* has been already made easy with relation to the *Dissenters* by the passing of the *Occasional-Bill*, which past last Sessions without Opposition. The *Whigs* by giving readily into it show'd themselves not to be Enemies of our Church, or if they were so before, they

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hereby made a signal Atonement. When the *Dutch* see that we are heartily in the Interest of the *Protestant Succession*, we may be sure they will be heartily our Friends, especially since their *Barrier* is so well secured. Whatsoever private Men may sometimes do, Nations never keep alive their Resentments, when once the Causes of the Disgust, real or imaginary, are removed. All the *Tories*, who are not *Jacobites*, will readily joyn with all that approve themselves to be Friends to *Monarchy* and *Episcopacy*, in order to secure the Nation against Popery. That we are spent by this long and expensive War is unquestionable. The *Jacobites* and *Papists* have not Strength to make any considerable Opposition, when once Steps are taken to secure these main Points. What the *House of Bourbon* will or will not do, as it must be left to Time, so Men will chearfully submit it into the Hands of the great Governor of the World. In short, it is in the Power of the *British Parliament*, humanly speaking, to secure us from those Evils, of which very many among us are as they think justly afraid. They are *Britains*, they are *Protestants*, they have abjured the *Pretender*, they have great Estates of their own, and they have a Posterity which are justly dear to them. They may be sure Her Majesty will gladly hearken to any Advices which they shall give Her for the Nation's Good ; and they are called together

ther to give Her such Advice. The *Ministry* likewise will for their own Sakes be ready to promote what the *Parliament* steadily adheres to, as knowing that whilst they pursue what is the real Interest of the Nation, they take the likeliest Course possible to continue to themselves that great Power which they have already got.

Jan. 13. 171 $\frac{2}{3}$.

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